

SOULBOOK

#5



SOULBOOK

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NOW IN ITS 2nd YEAR of PUBLICATION...

SOULBOOK

**the quarterly journal of
revolutionary afroameri**

**do it, do it, do it-
to DEATH!**

PARTIAL CONTENTS OF SOULBOOK 6 :

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bobb hamilton

LETTER TO SOULFOLK

If James Farmer, Martin Luther King, Whitney Young, et al represent the mainstream of the Civil Rights Movement, they are, at the most, a meandering stream. The term "mainstream" is a trick phrase invented by the white liberals and the Uncle Toms to put the stamp of "abnormal" or irresponsible on those intelligent black spokesmen who refuse to be bought by, or to support white paternalism.

The Black middle class is the reservoir from which the white power-structure draws its hand-picked niggers to speak for us. These two groups are allies, and they have conspired together to create a swamp called "Civil Rights" in which we are expected to flounder through, through the quick-sand, through the sink-holes to the Promised Land of Integration on the other side. And while we toil through this morass, our "leaders" are riding on our backs sneering and laughing and talking pride in "how high they have risen." If anything good for the Black man came out of that white family fight called World War 11, and the imperialist "police actions" that followed in Asia, it was the opportunity for many black people here, who were not members of the niggeratti set, to get a higher education or a better look at this out-house called the "Great Society." It is this new crop of blacks, young thinking black men who are able to see through the hypocrisy and double-dealing of this white society that is causing the so-called leaders and their white masters to tremble! The difference between a civil righter and a black radical is the willingness of the latter to learn from the past and to change his behavior in the light of the lesson he has learned.

The black radical is not concerned about presenting a good image for themselves! The black radical is not willing to sit down with crackers and "negotiate" his dignity as though it were a piece of real-estate: he affirms his dignity by demanding to be respected now, not next year or ten years from now when a new law goes into effect. Four hundred years is long enough to wait. If the crackers were sincere about their so-called democracy, they would have changed their actions long ago. The black bourgeoisie civil rightists have not been able to face up to the fact that white folks respect power and power alone! Passive resistance and "moral force" have only reassured whitey that we are fools. And that we can be deceived forever. The fact that non-violent "training" is directed at making meek Negroes and not propagandized amongst the Klansmen and the cracker "citizens" councils shows the flabby tongued white liberal for the moral gangster that he is and it shows King up for the fool that he is. Let him teach the white folks non-violence. The phony legislation and the tokenism we get in return is too little for us to allow our women and children to be beaten and degraded while we stand around wringing our hands and singing hymns, meanwhile the white folks continue to rule and to prosper at our expense. The black radical is not only willing to die for his rights, he is willing to kill for them also. It will not be as easy ever again to lynch another 3,407 blacks; the Deacons and others of us will see to that. The enforced projects cannot hold us back nor deceive us any longer, the Times, the Post, and the Daily News notwithstanding.

We are ready to use the power we have at hand to make some real changes, and that's what the fight over the Civil Rights Conference was all about. We back Stokely Carmichael 100% in his statement on why S. N. C. C. withdrew from the Johnson sponsored circus with the nigger clowns.

That hard black knot in the bowels of America is gathering its strength, and we intend to "work out."

Keep on pushing!!!

how the coup in ghana will affect the african liberation struggle

The U.S. - British-West German-Israel Imperialists and their agents are now in Ghana. The question is what do they want in Accra.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, "South Africa", has withdrawn its Representative and students from Ghana. In the light of recent developments in Ghana, inspired and engineered by the United States-British imperialists, it became necessary to review our continued presence in Ghana. The imperialist controlled mutineers, however, have clearly indicated that support to National Liberation Movements will cease. If this attitude was not adopted the Pan Africanist Congress would nevertheless have withdrawn and closed its office in Ghana as a matter of principle.

In Ghana today reaction is on the rampage and an ideological witch-hunt is on. The very essence of this mutiny is mass arrest, murder and pillage. Hundreds of people were killed, and several hundreds

Brother Laballo is the President of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa.

seriously wounded. Amongst those killed were General Bawah and his gallant men who died in defence of the Flagstaff House, the President's office. They fought for twenty-four hours to the last man. Over two thousand people were arrested and detained without trial, in fact, more political opponents than it is claimed that President Nkrumah detained.

Ghana which was once a Mecca of the African freedom-fighters has been reduced to an arch neo-colonialist state to serve the interest of United States and British imperialism. Thus the present temporary set back in Ghana is not only a set back for the people of Ghana but for all the anti-imperialist forces in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

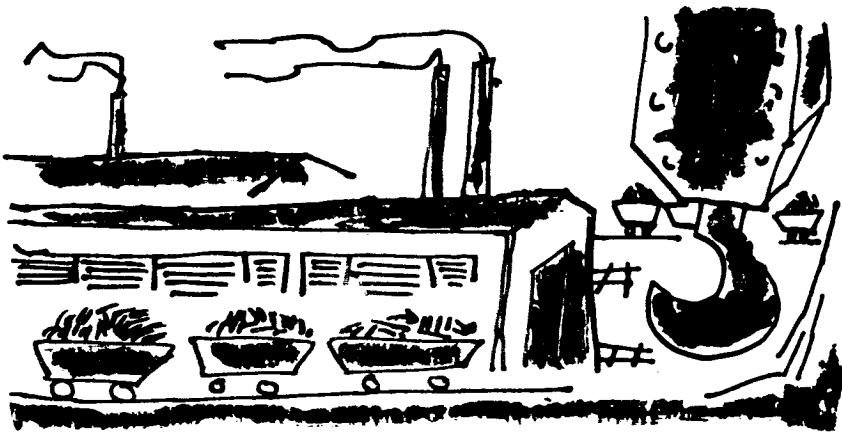
The so-called National Liberation Council regards the maintenance of freedom-fighters offices at the Bureau of African Affairs, Ghana as having been a "prestige project" and constitute a nest to engineer subversions (in our case) "against the lawful government of South Africa." Under imperialist guidance they ejected all freedom-fighters from the African Affairs Centre, at gun-point, and left them stranded in the streets. The imperialist Ankrah Mutineer clique has also ejected African Liberation Movements from their offices, in the African Unity House in London, a building given to African Liberation Movements by President Nkrumah to maintain their offices and project and struggle against imperialist oppression in their respective countries.

The hospitality extended to African Liberation Movements by the people of Ghana and the Government of President Nkrumah was revoked, and with ruthlessness, too. This imperialist puppet Ankrah mutineer clique must be crushed if the African Revolution is to succeed and it can only succeed if President Nkrumah is returned to Ghana by the people and forthwith.

IMPERIALIST PLOT NO. 1

It is abundantly clear that the mutiny is designed, instigated and stage managed by United States-British-West German-Israel imperialism and their agents. I want to make the following reference to substantiate:

- (1) It was a known fact that President Kwame Nkrumah was totally opposed to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and in practical steps too. At no stage did President Nkrumah waver in his opposition to imperialism, colonialism



and neo-colonialism and this was his greatest asset and was manifested in many ways.

- (2) The imperialists harboured jealousy over his peace mission to Hanoi, the centre of U.S. Imperialist aggression, for President Nkrumah was the first African Head of State to undertake a visit to Vietnam. The imperialists knew he would score a major achievement for Africa and thereby establish his position as an outstanding world statesman of our time. The imperialists were also jealous over his successful socialist, revolutionary economy in Ghana.
- (3) The running dogs of the imperialists in Ghana, have with conceited pride, informed the imperialists that President Nkrumah provided freedom-fighters from non-independent African States with necessary military training in order that they liberate their respective countries in Africa. The so-called National Liberation Council collected the imperialist ~~new~~ men and took them on an organized tour of the secret military camps set up by President Nkrumah. They exposed to the imperialists the type of training the freedom-fighters received, their numbers and their country of origin. By informing the world press that President Nkrumah trained freedom-fighters, the members of the so-called National Liberation Council could only be serving the interests of the imperialists.

- 7
- (4) Two South African White reporters were among those present when the local reactionaries conducted foreign journalists on their guided tours of secret training camps for freedom-fighters and pointing out freedom-fighters and arms used by them during training. The Two south African Journalists came via London. Our attention was directed towards them by a B.B.C. Correspondent who was arranging hotel accommodation for them.
 - (5) The Verwoerd-Salazar-Smith-Franco Axis, the arch imperialist agents in Africa sent spies, disguised as pressmen, to collect information on military plans. These plans are designed to herald the doom of this racist axis. Even if they succeed in collecting information from the imperialist backed Ankrah clique their doom is inevitable and they shall be ground into powder by the invincible forces of Pan Africanism.
 - (6) The Ankrah regime handed to the Portuguese colonialists freedom-fighters from Equatorial Guinea. The Portuguese Colonialists sent a military plane to collect these freedom-fighters.

Thus we of the liberation movements cannot see how liberation plans of the Organization of African Unity will in future be kept from our imperialist enemies if representatives of the so-called National Liberation Council pursue this attitude. This is, indeed, gross betrayal of Africa's Revolution against imperialists and their puppets. How then can the Ankrah clique be still allowed to associate itself with the OAU when in actual fact Ankrah clique is obviously an imperialist agent to spy for its imperialist masters in the Councils of the OAU Conferences?

POPULAR RESISTENCE:

It is abundantly clear that the broad masses of the people of Ghana still remain loyal to Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. The so-called National Liberation Council has vigorously applied the tactic of deceit and circulation of false propaganda through the local press, Radio and television which they control. Permit me to quote to you the type of support they claim in local newspapers and use this to induce the rank and file to support the mutiny.

On Thursday 1st March, 1966 the local newspapers carried headlines such as "NLC delegation recognised by OAU" and the article went on to say: "a three man Ghanaian delegation to the Sixth Ordinary Session of

the Ministerial Conference of the Organization of African Unity which opened in Addis Abbaba yesterday was given recognition and warm welcome by the whole thirty-six (36) Member African States represented. After the recognition, all the representatives went over to shake hands and congratulated the Ghana delegation." This as we know is a blatant lie. The walk out of nine (9) African countries from the 6th Ordinary Session of the Organisation of African Unity's Ministerial Council was strictly suppressed by the Ankrah clique.

The so-called National Liberation Council also attempted to win the support of the broad masses of the people by announcing the release of some five hundred and fifty (550) prisoners but refrained from clarifying that over three hundred (300) were criminals. The so-called National Liberation Council hoped by this "humanitarian" act to impress the Ghanaian people, but failed dismally.

Mock demonstrations, stage managed by the so-called National Liberation Council are given wide publicity and reports are grossly exaggerated. A demolition squad pulled down Osagyefo's statue and it was reported that it was the work of the people displaying their resentment to President Nkrumah.

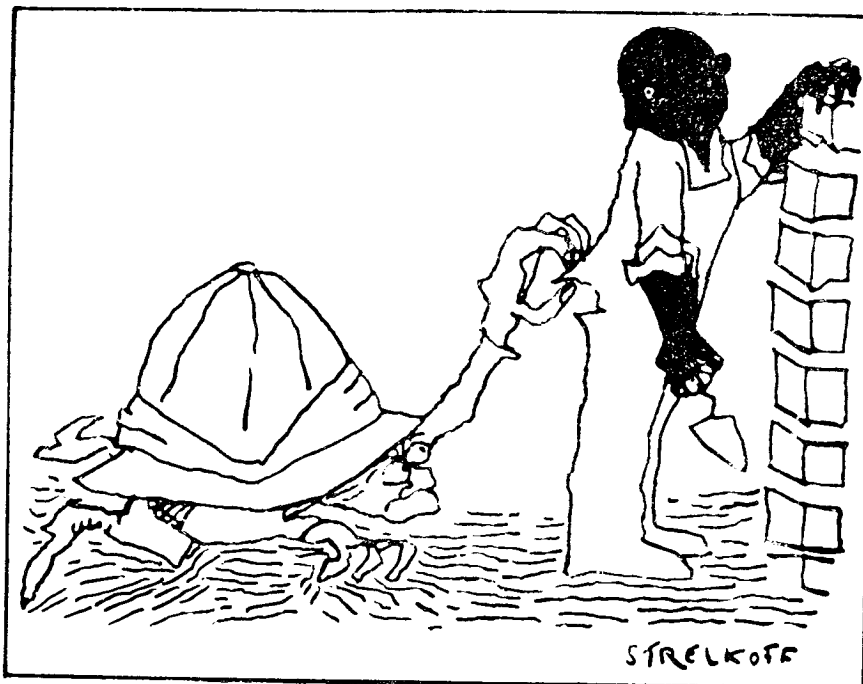
Many more examples can be quoted to illustrate the unpopularity of the Ministry of Ghana.

The reactionaries in Ghana live in perpetual fear and therefore are making frantic appeals to their imperialist masters for assistance. Their fear of the people and President Nkrumah was expressed when Osagyefo broadcast to the nation from Guinea. Immediately the so-called National Liberation Council ordered the confiscation of all radio apparatus from the Ghanaian people. Their dictatorial suppression need no elaboration here except that the so-called National Liberation Council accused President Nkrumah of being a dictator!

Pamphlets, placards and slogans have now appeared in the streets of Accra and on the walls against the Ankrah Imperialist puppet clique. The people's resistance is now being intensified. Ankrah's army patrols are now being ambushed and this Ankrah admitted by warning Ghanaian people of these clashes through radio and television.

ATTEMPTS AT VILIFYING THE OSAGYEFO PRESIDENT NKRUMAH

The so-called National Liberation Council has vainly attempted to discredit the Osagyefo President Nkrumah accusing him of lavish



spending. They even went to the extent to attacking his morals. All these are nothing but diabolical, malicious falsehoods.

In order to win support the so-called National Liberation Council is engaged in vicious, deliberate, dirty propaganda attacks of vilification and falsehood against President Nkrumah. Ankrah and his clique are trying to hide their own murderous deeds of blood-bath mutiny in Ghana behind these vilifications.

TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT NKRUMAH AND PRESIDENT TOURE:

President Nkrumah of the Republic of Ghana is the torchlight of the African Revolution, his ideology of African Nationalism and Pan Africanism as a higher continental philosophy has successfully led the

African Revolution. As a result of the permeation throughout the African Continent of this philosophical outlook we have witnessed the

emergence of some thirty-five (35) Independent African States, we have witnessed the formation of the Organization of the African Unity, we have witnessed the anti-imperialist upsurge in Africa, we have witnessed destruction of colonialism and neo-colonialism, we are witnessing the revolutionary armed struggle by the oppressed people in the still dependent states. President Nkrumah's contribution to Africa's liberation and his ultimate goal of one government for all Africa shall always remain indelible in the minds of the present generation and the coming generations of Africa.

Gentlemen, I must say, Ghana without Nkrumah is no more and without Nkrumah and Toure there can be no Africa.

Long Live Osagyefo President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of the Republic of Ghana!

PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURE:

President of the Republic of Guinea, the greatest son of Africa is the rescuer of the torch-light of the African Revolution. We pay the highest tribute to him and the heroic people of Guinea for being in the fore-front against imperialist aggression in Africa. We of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa) unequivocally pledge resolute support to President Sekou Toure's positive action to crush forthwith the United States-British-imperialist inspired mutiny in Ghana. The running dogs of the imperialists in Africa must be fought to the finish, or else we must go under and perish if we fail to do so. However with the imperialist inspired mutiny against President Nkrumah of Ghana, the African Revolution has suffered a temporary set-back. We call upon the people to rise and reverse the situation in Ghana.

WE DEMAND:

- (1) That the Organization of African Unity (OAU) bar the imperialist puppet regime of Ankrah from participating in all deliberations of the OAU and,
- (2) that the imperialist-puppet regime of Ankrah be isolated at all International Conferences and from association with Afro-Asian Countries.
- (3) The organization of African Unity (OAU) in pursuance of its Charter must destroy neo-colonialism in Ghana by all means at its disposal, including armed intervention.
- (4) The expulsion of all imperialist agents from the OAU and that

the OAU must take on a revolutionary outlook and carry forward the banner of African Revolution.

- (5) That the Ankrah clique return to all expelled liberatory movements based in Accra, their property including files and confidential documents, which if exposed may prove detrimental to the liberation of the still dependent territories.

AFRICA'S FUTURE:

The tide of imperialist aggression in Africa must be halted forthwith. Actions of our great revolutionary leaders in Africa, during the mutiny in Ghana, cast a flicker of hope for the African Revolution.

In his speech at Suez President Gamal Abdul Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic in reference to the imperialist coup in Ghana, categorically stated the attitude Africa must adopt towards imperialist subversion and aggression.

"We must break their legs!" This was President Nasser's advice to all anti-imperialist forces in Africa.

Let us take this as our guiding factor in dealing with imperialists.

President Kenneth Kaunda, has guided us in the attitude we must adopt towards the running dogs of the imperialists. President Kaunda refused to receive in his country a delegation sent by Ankrah clique regime. We must have nothing to do with the running dogs of the imperialists.

If we in Africa adopt the attitudes of President Nasser and President Kaunda we would know who are the enemies of African Revolution and how to deal with them. Thus we must denounce as imperialist collaborators All those countries that have given recognition to the Ankrah clique.

CONCLUSION:

It is imperative that the peoples of Africa should rise and check the

ed bullins

towards a real black theater

"... then when you speak of reality...it's a complete illusion."
"Yeah, that's it...that illusion among the rest."

From a conversation with Marjorie

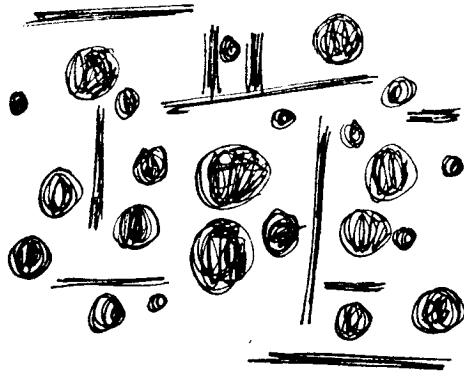
The popular "liberal" white patronizing condescension of today(1966) has given some black artists an easily accessible "Revolutionary" image. It is a legitimate preoccupation for some, though this "Revolutionary" image for most has taken the form of merely fantasizing the sentiments and dreams of radical appearing black groups; for the black artist has but to display the proper and genuine anger and hate for whites, possess the questionable ability to express this repugnance to his white reader and audience, then stand back and measure his skill as an artist by the criteria of whether the whites feel properly flogged, expiated, and apologetic for being white. Of course, for the black audience and reader, their measure of appreciation comes from their feelings of smugness and superiority as the white victim writhes on the rack of his conscience and guilt, screaming petitions to black artists: "I'm sorry! I'm sorry! What did I do? What can I do to help?" Normally, the comeback to these ignorant, naive complacent white questions is: "You can die, mathafukker!"

Yes, the black artist can feel superior in doing this, and the black

audience is quite safe, being far from the onslaught, as well as being quite distant from a literature in which the black man can find any identity other than as executioner.

But in these times when the Negro has gotten his thirty pieces of silver in the form of "Wars on Poverty" to aid in systematically exterminating "little brown men" in foreign wars, and in these times when the Negro refuses to speak out for his own her of popular culture, Cassius Clay; for the MAN is down on "dat" boy, and in these times when blacks are the hired assassins of a spiritual hero, a black prince among ALL men; Malcolm X, it is empty, obscene and hypocritical for the black writer to stick his head in the sand and only criticize the safe white liberal targets who are too degenerate and sick to strike back. If all the above is worth integrating into the American culture, then the black artist should be the first to say, FUCK IT!

A black writer is an absurd and foolish phenomenon in contemporary America: he must either revolt in safe paper and ink revolutions or go trip the light fantastic in the weird madhouses of the white academies, esthetics, and archaic logic. For there can be no art for the black, no tangible cultural identity until he first directs his art toward his people.



In the Theatre of Black Arts "liberal" whites who come to be

"whupped" should bring their own whips, clubs, cudgels, bludgeons, and ropes.

This artist's budget can not absorb expensive frills, and, besides, his arms tire easily.

the market of the dead

14



guillermo hoke

To show only the superficiality of a frightening drama that made Peru drowsy for three centuries, an agency in the service of Northamerican imperialism says that a southern district of Peru, Puno, which has the largest indigenous population in the Fatherland of the Incas, the Indians sell their children for 100 to 200 pesos.

This notice that stood out in daily newspapers as something to read between smiles or changes

of expression, nevertheless has its more painfully profound meaning. Let us rapidly take a look at it.

In Peru, where 70.3% of its population is found infested with T. B. - as stated in 1961 by the Secretariat of Health of my home province, there exist five million Indians, the major part grouped in 1,792 indigenous communities that occupy the highbarren plains, uneven, inhospitable land; the Andean heights where piercingly cold wind reigns, the Indians feed themselves--if what they eat is food--dried potatoes and meal salad of wilted cabbage and one or another seed of the highlands.

The Indians, because of their sparse diet, have an average life of 30 years. At the present time they serve only as flesh for the silver, copper, and gold mines that the Northamerican enterprises control. The pneumonia and T. B. continues to add to the barbarous amount of eight million Indians that the Spanish conquistadors murdered. The creole liberator that followed Bolivar and San Martin in the feats of 1810 had transformed into the neo-spaniard who with more refinement and greater greed exploited the indigenes after having snatched away his lands, his women, and his thin children.

As previously mentioned, the existing Andean Sierras are an immense cemetery where live the would be heirs of the extensive and socialist Incan Empire. From those rich lands where the loaded boats of gold and silver for the finery and extravagant eloquence of the Spanish monarchy were departing, only holes remain. Today, with four centuries of the most infamous conquest of all times the indigenous race has only the limits of pain, misery, sickness, and cocaine.

After Indians give birth to sick children -- already bodies with accusing eyes -- many times they will take their children directly to the cemeteries; thus saving themselves courses of pain and shame. Those that save themselves -- and they are very few -- run the lucky risk of being sold in the public markets. And not for profit, fraud, or for contraband nor inhumanization, no; the Indians sell their children to save them from a certain and terrible death; death by hunger!

Thus at least they sustain themselves with the bitter consolation that their beloved children are going to see much of the wide world, they are going to know the cities, they are going to be educated in order to redeem, someday, their castigated race. With this oppressed hope they auction their children off for 100 pesos and then, in their grief get themselves drunk and cry for entire weeks; that is until their eyes dry up or they die out in the brutal, savage, and frosty weather.

The cables of the imperialist only told us of the ridiculous sale of children. They did not say that behind each child that is sold goes the grave accusation against the present and past Peruvian governments. Nothing was expressed of the conditions under which these Indians live. These people have no knowledge of what milk or fruit looks like, nor what a decent roof over their heads is like. Equally, nothing is said in this same Puno of their misfortunes; that the Indians eat

dirt for the want of food.

In the interim while in the Sierras the Indians sell their children in order to save them, in Lima (the Peruvian Capital) a lying and cowardly oligarchy enjoys everything, hoarding their money in banks in New York, London, or Switzerland and vacation on the Blue Coast of Miami or Hawaii. That oligarchy consists of 25 families; 101 men and 14 women who neither are Peruvians nor to whom Peru owe anything. And on the other hand Yankee imperialism disposes of 92% of the National rent, legislates in its favor, and imposes conditions in order to appoint life or death to the Peruvians.

In the presence of this picture of incredible and infernal truth selling indigenous children is justifiable. Also we radicals lose our sons in the wilderness on account of hunger, because we lack the courage of selling them in order to save them; we still have our barbaric desire of possessing our sons, besides possessing our ardent revolutionary desire; meanwhile our Indians of so much pain and death have remained without anything inside, as the rocks, as the brooks, as the hills.



This article was translated from the Spanish text that appeared in Politica (Mexico City)

MEDITATIONS IN SCARLET HUE

by hassan

Clouds of clouds clouded my inner-resolve; life's crimson liquid rushed vehemently through the gray ducts of my inner-body, and the image of handwriting scribbled across a dirty wall flashed on my mind's taut screen. It read: "IT IS PAST THE SEVENTH HOUR OF RECKONING: THE SCALES OF JUSTICE HAVE TARNISHED WAITING FOR THE MEASUREMENT OF EQUALITY: PLEAS FOR INTEGRATION HAVE BECOME AN ABYSS OF SHAME, AND ALL ATTEMPTS TO MAKE WHITE AMERICA HONOR HER OWN IDEALS HAVE BECOME AS FRIVOLOUS AS A GRAIN OF SAND ON THE SAHARA. GO! STAND IN THE STREET, AND LET WINDY LIES BLOW YOU INTO THE INKY ARMS OF YOUR SEQUESTERING MILITANT BROTHERS, WHO REFUSE TO PAY ALLIGENCE TO A WORLD THAT PAYS THEM NO ALLIGENCE."

a tall white man, dressed in a red, white and blue colored suit, stopped out of a gossamer cloud of red smoke that had suddenly materialized in front of the dirty wall. He pulled out his penis and started urinating on the admonishing words that were scribbled on the wall. A fat ugly-looking Negro, dressed in an ivy-league suit, stepped out of a tree, pulled out his penis, and urinated on the wall.

I saw the faces of a thousand-thousand black men. The faces grew larger and larger until they fused into one huge angry looking face. The face spoke; "I cry out in blatant indignation at the cowardise quibble of America's black bootlickers - - the black



establishment!. I vomit each time I hear that dastardly rant of nonsense, 'if any blood flows, let it be ours.' I scoff at the uncouth sycophants who have exalted themselves above my brothers in the black slums. I have taken my position, and now I am ready to brave the task of wielding the scissors of liberation and snip the strings that are holding up America's modern day Punch and Judys. I have slipped on the mailed gloves of battle and sound the call of contest against my pale foes and their sable lackeys--the prize? Freedom or Death. I have imbibed the black truth that filled the hearts of Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Gabriel Prosser, Marcus Garvey, Patrice Lumumba, and that trojan black prince of our times, Malcolm X, who had their regal hands on the doorknob of black sovereignty, but were blasted into martyrdom, with the cry of freedom ringing from their precious ebony lips. I have rid myself of always judging my brothers through the eyes of those who would look at them with hatred and disgust. I can now see, with crystal clarity that America has always been a battle field with my pale enemies stalking the naked streets of night in search of black blood to quench the perverted thirst of the Dracula and Vampires lurking behind satanic smiles. But I, who have at last found the face of my father, will not turn the other cheek just to placate the whims of that paradoxical book filled with ominous parables; i will fight my oppressors with every ounce of strength i have, and when I can no longer lift my blood-stained hands, rather than submit, I will gladly die the unsung death of a revolutionary, amid the brainwashed jeers of my socially indoctrinated brothers. And do not place my body in some polished mahogany casket and eulogize me with Uncle Tom folklore -- but rather, burn my body and scatter my ashes in the narrow, sordid streets of the black slums, where my black soul dwells." I AWOKE....

The liberation struggle poses demands which require boldness in action and in thought. And boldness can give rise to over-hastiness, the source of imperfections and errors... No matter! The movement proves its mettle on the march. In these days it is still better to stumble than to remain seated. Quick march!

Majhemout Diop

RESOLUTION ON THE RIGHTS OF AFRO AMERICANS IN THE U.S.A.
 (Passed by the First Conference of Solidarity of the African, Asian
 and Latin American Peoples held in Havana, Cuba, Jan. 3 to 12, 1966)

Considering:

1. That racial violence and brutal discrimination in the United States against Afro-American men, women and children and the white humanitarians who sympathize with them is another manifestation of the exploitation of man by man;
2. That the Afro-Americans have the universal and inalienable right to legitimate defense, just as all other oppressed people who struggle under the most brutal repression and tyranny, for human rights and full liberation;
3. That the struggle of the Afro-Americans against racial oppression in the United States has never been so wide-spread or so violent, and that the people in the black ghettos are increasingly identifying their struggle for liberation with that of the oppressed and exploited peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America;
4. That during the rioting in Watts (Los Angeles) and Chicago, Afro-Americans openly proclaimed they were fighting a common cause with their Vietnamese brothers against racism and North American imperialism;
5. That, although, geographically, Afro-Americans do not form a part of Africa, Asia or Latin America, the special circumstances of the oppression which they suffer, to which they are subject, and the struggle they are waging, merits special consideration and recommends that the Tri-Continental Organization study a mechanism through which representatives of their clearly anti-imperialist organizations can participate in future conferences and the Organization of the three continents;

BE IT RESOLVED:

1. To strongly support the Afro-Americans in their struggle for human rights and survival, in common with the progressive forces which defend this struggle.
2. To condemn the murder of Malcolm X, the arbitrary imprisonment of William Epton, and likewise other victims of the violence unleashed by imperialism against the leaders and militants who face it.

OTIS GOES INTO

THE ARMY

doug allen

"Join Uncle Sam's Army and be prepared!", the big neon sign implored.

Otis Washington rubbed the top of his wooly head, scratched under his arm, and shuffled into the Army Induction Center. The room was crowded with sweaty bodies, and a few heads, looked up at him as he came through. Most were lost in deep thought or murmuring nervously to their new buddies.

A broad-shouldered sergeant came up to Otis.

"Yeah, can I help you?", he said gruffly.

"Yeah," he said, scratching behind his ear and pulling out his induction notice. "The people sent me this here letter an' told me I was supposed to come and get in the army."

"Have a seat, have a seat.", the man said as he took the letter from Otis. "I'm the Induction Officer."

"Yeah, that's what I come here about," Otis said, grinning. "I wanted to see if I could get sent over there to Viet Nam."

"Wait a minute. You say you want to be sent to Viet Nam?"

Otis Nodded.

"That's curious," the Induction Officer said. "Tell me, why do you want to be sent to Viet Nam?"

"I just wantto help my country, that's all." Otis said, "fighting them there Buddhist priests that've been talking all that mess against the U.S. government."

The Induction Officer shook his head. "No, I'm sorry. Government

troops aren't allowed to interfere in internal politics--"

"No-no," Otis protested, mulelike. "I been reading in the papers how them priests been stirring up trouble, and I'm going to take a machine gun and blast the hell out of them!"

The Induction Officer winced and wrote something on the letter in front of him.

"Well, perhaps you won't get sent to Viet Nam," he said. "How would you like to do duty in Germany?"

"Oh hell yeah, I'd like to go to Germany!" Otis exclaimed. "I been reading up on how all Nazis treated the Jews. Man, I'm gonna shoot every German I see--"

The officer erased what he had put on the letter and wrote something else, glancing at Otis and shaking his head.

"No, Germany just doesn't seem right for you," he said. "Now I suppose you'd be a little happier doing duty here in the United States where you can be close to home."

:Yeah, I've been meaning to have a word with somebody about that,: Otis said. "I'd like to get stationed in one of them Southern bases where I can be next to some of them places where they've got Ku Klux Klan. I figured that me and a bunch of my friends could go around and clean up that place in nothing flat--"

The Induction Officer sighed and stamped something on the letter as he handed it back to Otis.

"Tell you what," he said, "We're a little high on recruits right now. Why don't you come back in a little while. Like a month or so--?"



ON LEADERSHIP

"Nobody can have correct insights into a nation's problems all of the time, and still less act on their behalf for history has never been otherwise than the direct result of action by the crowd, on nature and society."
President Sekou Toure of the Republic of Guinea

" A leader is always a superior person, even though his superiority is not immediately visible beyond this pulling power. His psychological finesse permits him to feel the deep pulse of the people. His intellectual maturity permits him to transform these perceptions into a program of political action. His spiritual loftiness is invested with a certain suicidal quality which carries him forward to the dangerous post, to where are posted the machine-guns of the police. The people follow him, because he and the people complete each other."

Juan Arevalo, former President of the Republic of Guatemala

" A mature leader will be he, that has thrown off the yoke of his family's oppression, the yoke of the white man's oppressive culture and who has risen above his own fear of death and feels within himself that he is a man who wants to join with all real men to make possible all things. He will radiate power, not possess it. He is a man and from this knowledge all things will come. He has to have a little bit of Robert Williams, Marcus Garvey, Fidel Castro, Frederick Douglas, Nat Turner, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Arthur Reid, Randolph Wilson, Malcolm X, Nkrumah, Mao-Tse-Tung. He has to be young.....

Louise Moore, a strong revolutionary Black woman. *

* quoted from Liberator magazine

In every organization, school, group, or community whether large or small, importance must be given to the establishment of a nucleus of leadership. The criteria for such a leading group should be absolute devotion to the cause, contact with the people, ability independently to find one's bearings and observance of discipline whether in carrying out central tasks or checking up on work, it is necessary to adopt the method of linking the leading group with the people, in addition to linking theory with practice.

Mao-Tse-Tung, Supreme leader of the Chinese Peoples' Republic

What is needed is unity. Unity and discipline. Unity and discipline and a solid, correct leadership. Leadership which can never be bought over. Leadership which does not think of itself. Leadership which could never be isolated from the people. That is the kind of leadership which helped us to overthrow this double deck system of oppression.

Mohammed Abdul Rahman Babu, Minister of Cooperatives of Tanzania

The African-American revolutionary awaits the day when Black humanism will prevail over white decadent materialism; for on that day the oppressed will see the sunrise again, the redeemers will walk the earth, Hiram shall awaken and the meek shall inherit the earth! Up you mighty revolutionaries, you can accomplish what you will!!

Moses Jefferson, a Black american revolutionary



READ

burning spear

for information, write

BURNING SPEAR

1462 HAIGHT STREET

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

c/o Vincent Lynch

clarence major
ernie allen
john fischer
patricia parker
bobb hamilton
k w kgositsile

reject notes



BLACK CRIMINAL

I knew that with the gun
strapped to my chest
I carried a warning. I knew
that with the weight
of my oppressors system
upon me, I carried a double
death warning.
For I had not sworn to protect
his beliefs,
his dreams, his vision of me.
I had declared myself,
saw the "me" --the "I"
& I was not going to be patient
enough to wait until
the coming of a way from the empassé

I was to live now.

Even dead

clarence major

to Akilimali (whose richness is in reason and in love)

naked laughter altogether stripped
of pretense while black pearls flow
in chains of love hung round our hearts
like diamonds gently dropping to fecundant earth
swallowed

into caverns of becoming darkness

finding rest in tenderness and warmth :
Akilimali, my soulful black woman
magnificent African queen:
a gentle sigh and Shango, drowsy, nods his head
in rising waves of passion's offering
which gives and takes as the sea
awakening in a tide which breaking
bonds of souls once two
become at once
and one a blinding flash and molten mass
as on the eve of creation, yes
quaking cringing shaking shimmer
and impinging thunder from a thousand beating
African drums and hearths upon the universe
as stretching forth my hand to heights unseen
i grasp the brightly flowing truth exploding
from eternal eye of loveburst
amorphous soul of burning blackness
and
with mighty hammer passed
from centuries down and chaingang sweat
from centuries down and brutal whip
from centuries down and slavery cry
i gently form the necklace which you wear, Akilimali

i hold you close and tell you of our past and
 whisper softly; do not be afraid of happy tears
 which brush our cheeks, Akilimali, for
 kissing lips embrace this truth held
 tightly by a million links of love which lie
 about us in warm stillness or a moment's memory
 a gentle sigh and Shango, drowsy, nods his head

but snatched from blossom given birth
 by playful rolling summer hills
 and
 tossing to the airs as surf
 from sea reali
 ties
 crash in
 euphony spent and
 scattered to departing southern shores

a sinking shell in sand stand i
 at water's edge and watch chilled laughter
 slipping icily through toes tingling
 with empty feeling then
 a painful throbbing and
 i look around:
 my beating heart is leaving with the tide
 and mingling tears with misty sea
 yet
 gleaming as they never had before
 are countless precious jewels, my love
 whose sparkling memories join in train
 and glitter by in swimming sand
 churning churningover
 flowing lonely waters, and awaiting winter's tides;
 now arms reach out
 to grasp for shells and links
 which bear our names to fill

for dissolution's sake of time
whose instant definition - it
soon he swept away in one
embrace of aching heart's black love

ernie alien

MAN'S ONENESS WITH GOD

O Lord-O Lord-lift up this mighty curse,
 These willful sensibilities. Uproot Erase.
 Eradicate. If humble Love be thy Holy name
 And placid beauty our crowning grace, why
 Then upon this feeble conscious this mighty
 Burden must thou press, that eons on deaf
 Ears hast fallen?

Am I my brother's keeper? -Down-with this
 Puritanical light...

Abraham, father of the multitude. I cannot
 Reach you. In Bethel of the soul I reach. I
 Stretch. I strain. I cannot reach you...

Abraham.....Abraham.....will you forsake
 Me here in Sodom, too? I cannot reach you...

john fischer

"God gave Noah the rainbow sign,
No more water, the fire next time!"

"The Fire Next Time:

A Voice from Watts

"Burn, Baby, burn, -"

Black gods have called judgment,
give or burn, baby
Black god - a mad mother, him

spilling from ghetto stench

a mob,

a mad mob without identity -

maybe a race that found theirs,

& what you say in your white,

Protestant, Anglo - Saxon

mother fuck the world church,

God don't like niggers -

Okay -

throw a little gasoline on

Heaven

Gonna see if it burns too.

Bring your troops back, big daddy -

Need em here -

cause Chief Parker ain't never beat
no Viet Cong's head.

now you don't have to worry
about your woman getting raped,

but

i really like to see how
peroxide burns.

patricia parker

"Brother Harlem Bedford Watts Tells Mr. Charlie Where Its **At**"

Man, your whole history

Ain't been nothing but a hustle;

You're a three card molly¹.

Mother fucker.

You've even run the shell

And pea game² on your own family.

I wouldn't trust you

As far as I could throw

A turd of

Gnat shit!

Let me run down

Just a little

of my

Case against you

Chuck!

When you set your

Foot in our house,

Our troubles begun--

Yeah, we had our family fights,

But it took you

to put

Shit in the game.

We though you was sick

You looked so white and

Hairy, and we taken you

In like a brother

"Poor thing. "We said,

"He looks like one of our ghosts,

Look at his pinched up nose

And his little narrow

Pink lips. And that hair is a gas.

A lotta little brown

And blond strings

Hanging out of his head

His god must be poor

And don't have no wool-or else

Awfully stingy."

And whilst we was

Wining and dining you.

And trying to put some Soul

In your poor pale frame,

You was casting

Your greedy gray eyes

Around, lusting after our

Shining black women, and

Our gold and silver

Yeah, and you even licked

Your fuzzy chops at our

Black biceped men!

You was scheming man..

Before we knowed it good,

We were took over.

Next thing we knowed

Ya'll had a squabble

Amongst yourselves

And divided up the whole
Country.

Old leopold run his
Cut like a game preserve
Chopping off hands and
Foots, plucking out eyeballs
Snatching off ears-He was
Swinging--

And when he got tired
He went home
Put on some silk drawers
Laid up in a
Big Belgian bed
Blew a fart and
Died.

The pope says he
Went to heaven.
Jeez man!

How dumb do you
Sombitches think we are ?
What happened to
Your god's justice ?
Speaking of justice
Your god is a fink
He let his own son get
Lynched over there in
Jerusalem Land.
If Shango had made
It with Mary,
He wouldn't a ever
Let his son
Lay in a stable
With all that
Ox shit and straw
Now man,
Mary woulda been
Set up in

You kick our ass..

Let him do his Head--rag hop somewhere else

Cause if you ever kick me

You will make a

Dot and a dash

For footprints, cause you'll have

One peg and one shoe!

Help you fight in

Viet Nam ?

Man, them's my folks

you fucking with over there,

Viet Cong

or

Hong Kong

They is colored,

And I hope cuzz

Knocks a hole

In your ass

Big as the

Grand Canyon!

Man you been taking

One big piss

On me for

Four hundred years

And then

Calling me

Nasty!

Hell now

I ain't going

Nowhere!!

bobb hamilton

1. Three card molly is culludese for three card monte a con game with two black jacks and a red queen which are shuffled and layed on the table for the "sucker" top pick out the queen which has been palmed during the shuffle and replaced with a duplicate of one of the jacks.
2. The shell and pea game uses three walnut shells. A pea is placed under one and the "sucker" picks the one its under. The con man has taken the pea between his fingers while moving the shells around on the table.

Woody and the Reading Railroad

Just managed life, my old man;
railroad trains shooting past his booth
at the cross-switch in warehouse yards
where black lines of freight make up
the landscape;
he enclosed in the brown of a dirty
army jacket,
enclosed railroad-man, travelling these roads
toward these cities that vaguely promised
freedom.

My old man mumbling in the morning
after mom,
mumbling weariness, jamming his self
into those work-shoes;
died one day in the winter;
the snow laughter out him down
and it covered him.

larry neal

FOR AFROAMERICA

when your days were made
of walls cold
and whiter
than snow
when deranged vipers
sliced through your black
genitals my body was one
huge bleeding ball.

Now
there will be no ifs
red-lipped dreams too
damned long deferred
explode

Now
redhot truths
defiant like volcanoes emerge
taller than evening shadows

from ghetto magicians

Now

from the asshole of america

gutter smells rush

the blood like

a stampede to the head

scorching centuries -long tears

up and down the land

Now

I see

Patrice and Malcolm

in your step as you

dance near the sun

your hand outstretched

to embrace that long

deferred day so close

Now

I can see

ghetto smells going

up in smoke up and down

the land exploding in

the asshole of america

I can see that day

teasing you like a whore

SCREAMING NOW

k. willy k₅ositsile

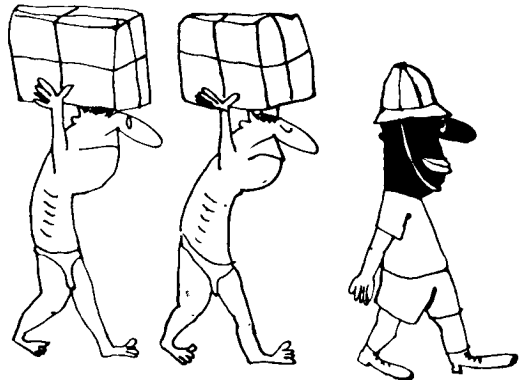
NEXT IN LINE ?

I would like to clear up some points which were brought to my attention through the reading of a recent essay entitled, "The city Is the Black Man's Land," written by Grace and James Boggs. 1 The first of these points involve two premises:

willie green

the world is the black man's land!

PART 1: POWER IN THE CITY



one is that Afroamericans are, in a very specific manner, historically entitled to the control of White America's cities; the other is the dangerous misconception that Black power (i. e., control) can be established in these cities with concomitant major social changes having been instituted by their black governments before the establishment of a black revolutionary government on a national level. This viewpoint is incorrect for two major reasons, not only in the possibility for this reform, but also in the very nature of the type of reform which the Boggs have in mind.

The first premise, not being of as important a nature as the second, will be dispensed with first. The second paragraph of the Boggs' essay begins with the statement:

"In accordance with the general philosophy of majority rule and the specific American tradition of ethnic groupings (Irish, Polish, Italian) migrating en masse to the big cities and then taking over the leadership of municipal government, black Americans are next in line." 2.

I disagree profoundly with this last statement. Black Americans are not next in line; they are the line! And every ethnic group which came to America and stood in the line to municipal power also stood on the same line! Listen to the voice of a trade unionist:

"Each of these waves of immigrant (sic) was assimilated into the American system by climbing upon the backs of others, first and always on the backs of Negroes, and then on the backs of other immigrants until each reached a status more or less equal to that of the 'Founding Fathers'." 2.

The preceding statement was written by James Boggs in 1964. And indeed, if we were to follow "American tradition" (as previously documented by James Boggs) we would then be forced to state, "sadly" to be sure, that Black Americans would have to dismiss all illusions concerning the "historical" line leading to municipal government control, since there are no shoulders left for them to stand on but their own. Pursuing this thought further, If we were to base our arguments for black control upon "tradition", someone else could state - and with as much basis to their argument as ours - that black people in the US are entitled neither to power nor to human rights, citing a long history of American "tradition" as the reason for such. So we must look elsewhere for answers. The Boggs are mistaken, and I apologize

if this appears pedantic, to equate former "ethnic groupings" with colonized Afroamericans. Obviously, the former travelled to the United States for the purpose of becoming citizens and to share in the fruits and spills of a new and growing nation; the latter were carried here in bondage for the purpose of building it. "Historically" it was never intended that Afroamericans would ever exercise economic or political power in the U.S.: so much for American tradition and historical lines to power.

"REVOLUTION OR REFORM" OR "REVOLUTION THROUGH REFORM"

A positive aspect of the Boggs' paper rests in their pinpointing of major cities in the U.S. (whose populations are on their way to becoming predominantly black) as the arenas of struggle between black power, which is revolutionary and humanistic, and white power, which is reactionary and decadent. I also have some strong criticisms of their program in certain areas, and those criticisms will be forthcoming. But it is in advancing their program for the cities that the Boggs help lead us out of the present impasse in the black revolutionary movement as well as furnish us ammunition to expose "ultra left" tendencies of (quiet as it's kept) many dedicated revolutionary Nationalists, for some of the current arguments to be found among this group are thusly:

- i) the municipal governments of virtually every American city are overwhelmingly and hopelessly corrupt; thus to debate useless and unconvincing arguments with whitey at the city council's conference table is highly distasteful. Moreover, wastes precious time which could be devoted to revolutionary activity;
- ii) in addition black militants elected to office may, under the influence of standard "parliamentary procedure," become corrupted and frustrated by the bureaucratic machinery. As a result either join forces with the Beast or possibly drop out of the liberation movement altogether in any case setting back the black liberation struggle;
- iii) the running of black candidates for office, however "militant" they might be, confuses the masses of our people by encouraging them to think in the terms of "reformism" at a time when revolutionary activity is the order of the day.

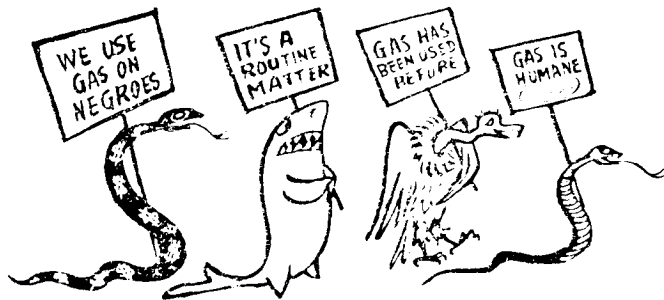
From where did these ideas arise? Much of this was due - and we must be honest with ourselves - to inexperience on our own part. It is to be recalled that at one time "politically-oriented" Bourgeois Nationalists advocated the voting of black candidates into office and as a result, "change the structure from within." This line originated from those who were either politically ignorant, were opportunists, or perhaps a little of both. I think that partly it was here in our effort to avoid the mistakes of the past that some of us took a position toward the struggle which we can only characterize now as being "ultra-revolutionary" (i. e. , ruled out for all practical purposes the adoption of "reformist" tactics in their proper place within the black liberation struggle, and this included the voting of black militants into office).

Why is it necessary to address ourselves to reform? What are the consequences of ignoring this form of struggle, keeping in mind, quite naturally, the ultimate revolutionary goals of the movement?

First of all, no one in the black liberation struggle today could deny the corruption and degeneracy which exist among all echelons of the U. S. government, from the municipal level up to and including the White (out) House. But granted the difficulties that would confront black militants elected to city government, it would be mistaken to assume that the roles which they could play there could only be negative, or would result in a waste of time. For example many of the "under-the-table" machinations such as mis-labeled "Urban Renewal" programs which have a considerable effect on the lives of the majority of black people living in the cities could

be squelched through tactics devised on two different fronts: from within by attempts to dislocate and constipated the parliamentary machinery, and from without by mass mobilization of blacks, all coordinated by the revolutionary organizations.

Secondly, the Black Revolutionary organization must demonstrate



through action their sincerity and dedication to the people whom they purport to lead. We must remember that the first stage of the revolution, the actual taking of arms for the purpose of seizing power, will fail (simply because of this factor) if the masses of our people have not identified with, or are indifferent to, the aims of the revolutionary organization or the organization itself. This is rather obvious, for:

"...without a revolutionary mood among the masses, and without conditions favoring the growth of this mood, revolutionary tactics would never be converted into action; but we...have been convinced by long, painful and bloody experience of the truth that revolutionary tactics cannot be built up on revolutionary moods alone...Expressing one's 'revolutionariness' solely by hurling abuse at parliamentary opposition, solely by negotiating participation in parliaments, is very easy: not just because it is too easy, it is not the solution for a difficult, a very difficult problem.

The connection of the Black Revolutionary Organization with the Afroamerican masses cannot be confined to the area of debate alone, be it either vocal or literary; rhetoric without corresponding action has a way of turning back on itself. But it is in occupying itself with and attempting to solve the everyday problems of Black people that the Black Revolutionary Organization will grow both in number and in power, at the same time raising the level of political consciousness of both the revolutionary cadres and the broad masses of black people. Otherwise the call to mass revolutionary action of itself will become, if not meaningless, completely inefficacious, and the Black Revolutionary Organization will find itself degenerating to the level of a study group, if that.

The Boggs did not state the following, but I am sure that they would find themselves in agreement with me on this point: that any black militants who run for office and who are also supported by the Black Revolutionary Organization (whatever it may be) must be from this organization; the reasons are two-fold:

- i) this first assures that the "militants" will have at the onset a correct revolutionary perspective as advanced by the organization;

ii) the election to public office of these militants from the organization should consist of a test of these cadres within the appropriate activities of the revolutionary movement: the roles which they play (or fail to play) under their terms of office should serve as guidelines to future roles which they will be allowed to play during the course of the revolutionary struggle; for this reason alone we see the necessity of these militants being responsible to a dedicated revolutionary organization, which in turn must be responsible to the masses of black people whom it serves.

As Lenin stated in 1920:

"...the development of good, reliable, experienced and authoritative 'leaders' is a very difficult task, and these difficulties cannot be successfully overcome without combining legal and illegal work, and without testing the leaders..in the parliamentary area as well."

At the beginning of this section we posed three arguments currently advanced by a few of our Revolutionary Nationalist brothers. The majority of these points have now been refuted, but it would be helpful, I think, to sum up the proceeding discussion: the Boggs, though not stating this directly but rather by example, help to point out exactly what some of we "Youngblood" revolutionaries are at times likely to forget in our hast to bring about the "final confrontation:" that revolutionary action is not all physical combat but must take place in the "parliamentary" area as well. This use of "reformist" tactics will help us to mobilize broad masses of our people around vital issues (we can not always depend upon such issues as Vietnam, though this too is important to utilize), elevate the political consciousness of the masses as well as the revolutionary "leadership," and will act as a test of cadres in the Black Revolutionary Organization.

What about the statement pertaining to confusing "...the masses of our people by encouraging them to think in terms of 'reformism' at a time when revolutionary activity is the order of the day?" Quiet as it's kept, Lenin also answered this question over forty years ago, and his reply still stands firm today:

"Parliamentarism has become 'historically obsolete.' That is true as regards propaganda. But

everyone knows that this is still a long way from overcoming it practically. Capitalism could have been declared, and quite rightly, to be 'historically obsolete' many decades ago, but that does not all remove the need for a very long and very persistent struggle on the soil of capitalism." 6.

As long as you are unable to disperse the bourgeois parliament and every other type of reactionary institution, you must work inside them, precisely because *

Unless black revolutionaries in the U. S. pay strict attention to detailed characteristics of other revolutions which have taken place throughout the world, both those successful and unsuccessful, then we all may be in the act of viewing the formation of a black "super-left" in the U. S., which like Superman (and Batman too) will remain a fiction and non-reality for the masses of our people. Furthermore we will be abandoning the black liberation struggle to Bourgeois Nationalists, as well as to various sectors of the "Ofay Left" who know the value of "reformist" tactics in a revolutionary struggle, and who also know well the value of "lollypops and white girls" to certain negroes who, in exchange for them, will write "black nationalist" bedtime stories for publication in their journals.

On this important point we state in conclusion that it is not the use of "reformist" tactics in the present struggle as some might profess, but it depends, rather, on who is employing these tactics: groups who believe in reformism and feel no need or desire for changing the basis of the present system or those militants who view reformism as an essential step in the tempering of a mass revolutionary movement and who are also determined to see the revolution through.

ON THE ORGANIZATION FOR BLACK POWER

As stated previously, I have some very strong reservations concerning the Boggs' program in certain areas, and it is these points which I will bring up here. In a very real sense, Boggs and his wife confuse the seizure of power in the cities with the seizure of national state power. For in their discussion of a program which black government in the cities would institute, they state:

"Thus, for example, black political power would institute a crash program to utilize the most advanced

*turn to last page of this article for ending of this quote

technology to free people from all forms of manual labor." 8.

We will have something to say about the nature of this reform shortly, But they appear to be so mesmerized with their program, however, that it is almost as an afterthought that they add:



"There should be no illusion that this can be accomplished without expropriating those now owning and controlling our economy. It could not therefore be accomplished simply on a city-wide basis, is, without defeating the national power structure." 9.

Thus they are not really speaking of a program that black city governments would initiate but rather a program which would have to be instituted by a national revolutionary government. My position here is strengthened by the following quote:



"America has already become the dangerous society. The nation's major cities are becoming police states. There are only two roads open to it. Either wholesale extermination of the black population through mass massacres or forced mass migrations...Or self-government of the major cities by the black majority, mobilized behind leaders and organizations of its own creation and prepared to reorganize the structure of city government and city life from top to bottom."10.

"...prepared to reorganize the structure of city government and city life from top to bottom." I think here that the Boggs have assumed a little too much in their desire to bring reform to the cities. For as we will soon see, it would be quite impossible for any of the governments in major U.S. cities, white or black controlled, reactionary or revolutionary minded, to initiate any major reforms under the present economic system; within this context the problems of the cities are at present beyond the control of man's will, and will only come within control under a radically changed economic system. Just as the over-emphasis placed upon control of factories by workers led to reformism within the trade unions during the period of WWII,

so too over-emphasis placed upon control of the cities can lead to reformism within the programs of black revolutionary organizations.

"To grasp the social significance of the CIO it must be clearly understood that the workers in taking hold in the plants did not take power. They only took hold of the plants. They did not take over the state govt., or the national government, or the city police, or the national guard, or the army." 11.

Thus the workers seized control of the factories but did not, as we know, seize state power. We, as black revolutionaries, must not make the same mistake as did white workers, and it is because of this fact that I am slightly wary of the program of the Organization for Black Power. From the statement adopted at their founding conference which took place May 1, 1965 comes the following:

"The city is the base which we must organize as the factories were organized in the 1930's. We must struggle to control, to govern the cities, as workers struggled to control and govern the factories of the 1930's." 12.

As we well know, the labor organizers stopped at the factory level as soon as workers achieved their demands (I have in mind here chiefly the CIO). Then came WW11, and every bit of control over production which workers had achieved in the factories from the 1930's until that time was gradually handed back over to management by the union. The conspicuous absence of any mention of this fact in the statement adopted by the above-mentioned conference, plus the over-emphasis which they have placed upon control of the cities - a necessary tactical step in the revolution, admittedly - rather than seizure of power at the national level has led me to believe, and I hope I am wrong, that the Organization for Black Power might well be travelling the same route as the labor unions of the 1930's.

Would it be possible, after seizure of power in the cities by blacks, to institute reforms such as those which the Boggs have in mind, i.e., by "reorganizing the structure of city government and city life from top to bottom"? To answer this question it will be necessary in a very generalized manner to examine the present functioning (or rather non-functioning) of city governments, as well as assess the powers which

Afroamericans can presently utilize. Black America's political power manifests itself in the following three areas:

- i) the power to unleash violence
- ii) the power to hurt the economy
- iii) the power to stop the machinery of government

These powers must obviously not be confused with economic power (which we do not have), yet it is these powers of "destruction" which we must use in order to seize the cities; but it must be remembered that it takes economic power to run them. Let us examine the present source of funds for the functioning of the cities. Though the situation is far more complex than the following explanation might make it seem, we see these funds emanating from four areas in general: taxes and assessments from light and heavy industry, from commercial enterprises, and from the general population, combined with various forms of aid from state and federal governments.

In order to seize control in the cities it would be necessary to somehow transform our "destructive" power into economic power. From where would the funds for reform, let alone city maintenance, come? Could we count on the sources which the cities presently utilize? Let's analyze some recent (and very general, it is true) trends which are affecting the functioning of the major cities:

- i) in the past few years the trend of industry has been to move away from high taxes imposed by the governments of the larger cities and towards the lower taxes endowed by municipals which lie on the fringes of these larger cities; thus big cities lose more and more tax money each year as their industries move to other locales;
- ii) this relocation of industries away from the major cities as a consequence results in a decline in the number of jobs for the inhabitants of these cities (which, as the Poore point out, are becoming predominantly black;
- iii) this second factor, combined with the fact that whether these industries in the large municipals either remain there or relocate themselves, are in the process of introducing (or have already introduced) cybernated equipment in their plants, reducing further still the number of available jobs

(iv) the increasing amount of unemployment in the cities further reduces the amount of tax money available to the city in two ways: revenue obtained from direct taxation of the population obviously falls off, and at the same time, because the public is in the act of losing its purchasing power, the commercial sector of the city begins to fold, thus reducing the amount of tax money available to the city from that area.

All of these factors outlined above are broad trends, to be sure, but they certainly give an indication of things to come. "Turning the cities over to the black population" will hardly solve problems of such immense magnitude, for the possibilities of any type of reform in the major cities of the U.S. are gradually moving out of reach.

Recall the four areas previously mentioned from which the city currently obtains its resources. With relocation of industry, combined with the increasing use of cybernated equipment in their plants, the cities will be forced to count less and less upon the first three factors (i.e., taxes and assessments from industry, the commercial sector, and the general population), which means a greater dependence upon funds from both the state and federal governments. Needless to say, state and federal funds do not come unattached, i.e., without corresponding control over their use. Thus the black governments in the cities in seizing power would be inheriting problems which could not possibly be solved within the framework of capitalism, i.e., without having control over the surplus value of society, which means nationalization of industry.

My point is this: that we should build organizations for the purpose of seizing power in the cities, but that at the same time we should be under no illusions as to what we would be able to accomplish without first seizing power at the national level; it would be impossible for black power and for white power to coexist for any length of time within the United States. By this I mean that we must not confuse the

conditions of our particular revolutionary situation with those of past or present revolutionary struggles. And for those who do not yet understand this fact I would recommend very highly the reading of Mao Tse-Tung's profound essay, "Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist In China?", paying particular attention to the second section: "Reasons for the Emergence and Survival of Red Political Power in China." 13 We must always keep in mind the following:

"...all organizations that spring up in a capitalist society and do not take absolute power, but rather fight only on one tangential or essential aspect of that society are eventually incorporated into capitalist society." 14.

And as two other black writers were later to amend this statement, these organizations, if they do not take absolute power, will either be incorporated, destroyed, or lose effectiveness. 15

We have shown the difficulties inherent in reforming the present system without the seizure of power at the national level, and have stressed that we should harbor no illusions concerning these difficulties. But it is not only the absence of these possibilities for basic reform that I am addressing myself to here; James Boggs has, since 1963 at least, consistently held to the proposition that the potential U.S. working population (which includes the actual), because of the arising of conditions in America which could provide for it, should be furnished with unconditionally guaranteed incomes. This was one of the major themes of his book, The American Revolution, the very same idea was presented as the "solution" to cybernation in the U.S. in "The Triple Revolution" document, of which Boggs was one of the signers in 1964, and this train of thought also pervade the present essay which was jointly written by he and his wife. In a review of The American Revolution which appeared last year was the following remark, applicable also to the Boggs' present essay:

"...we disagree with Boggs on at least one important point: his implication that work is somehow not a necessity for mankind, in general, to live.

We agree that if a man cannot work then he should be given means in order to live adequately. In spite of this fact we feel that work is still a necessary part

of man's life; there is an abundance of evidence to show that man developed from a lower to a higher being by working (with both his hands and his head), and we believe that man will continue to master nature and to solve his problems by working. Therefore we feel that work should not be deemphasized, even though it may not be necessary in the productive process, because of its essentiality to the further development of men." 16.



Furthermore, the following criticism of the program advanced by the authors of "The Triple Revolution" document is also applicable here:

?
 "Our conclusion can only be that the idea of unconditionally guaranteed incomes is not the great revolutionary principle which the authors of 'The Triple Revolution' evidently believe it to be. If applied under our present system, it would be, like religion, an opiate of the people tending to strengthen the status quo. And under a socialist system...it would be quite unnecessary and might do more harm than good." 17.

I both sincerely and strongly feel that the Boggs, before they continue on in their advocacy of unconditionally guaranteed incomes, should seriously address themselves to the above two positions. We will be very interested in seeing their remarks concerning at least this point, in particular, in some of their future writings.

The point stressing the development of "para-military cadres ready to defend black militants and the community from counter-revolutionary attacks" is an excellent and essential one. It is also very true, as the Boggs stated, that:



"the most difficult and challenging task is the organizing of struggles around the concrete grievances of the masses which will not only improve the welfare of the black community but also educate the masses out of their democratic illusions and make them conscious that every administrative and law-enforcing agency in this country is a white power. " 18.

I agree completely that this is a very difficult problem, but it is a task which must be solved in practice by the Black Revolutionary Organization, for if the link between the revolutionary organization and the masses is reliant only upon the spontaneity of the latter, the entire revolutionary program will then be doomed to failure simply because the masses will not sustain a revolutionary movement without a strong and dedicated leadership to provide them with an effective program of political education and guidance. 19

One apparent fault in the Boggs' paper is their failure to suggest any manner in which the struggle for power in the major cities (which are predominately in the North and on the West and East Coasts) could be linked up with the Southern Freedom Struggle, which we have recently seen (though after the publication of the Boggs' paper, I might add) is also becoming a struggle for power:

"Stokely Carmichael, new SNCC chairman, said about 35 members of the militant student organization had been invited to the conference 'White House Conference



a force to take power. We're not a protest movement. We're out to take power legally, but if we're stopped by the government from doing it legally, we're going to take it the way the Americans took it in the Mexican Revolution." 21.

It has taken us ten long years since Montgomery to realize that political and economic power is what we really need, and though this is hardly the place to present such an ambitious project, all of us in the black liberation struggle should at present be in the act of formulating programs for the unification of these black power struggles, both North and South, keeping in mind at all times the concept of uneven development of struggle in different areas.

FOOTNOTES

Part I Next in Power

1. Grace and James Boggs, "The City Is the Black Man's Land," Monthly Review, April, 1966, pp. 35-46
2. Ibid., p. 35
3. James Boggs, "Integration and Democracy: Two Myths Have Failed," Black America, Fall, 1964, p. 4
4. V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder, (New York, 1940), p. 47
5. Ibid., p. 48
6. Ibid., p. 40
7. Ibid., p. 42
8. Grace and James Boggs, p. 42
9. Ibid., p. 43
10. Ibid. p. 36
11. James Boggs, The American Revolution, (New York, 1965), p. 17.
12. Grace and James Boggs, p. 42
13. Mao-Tse-Tung, "Why Is it That Red Political Power Can Exist in China?," Selected Works, Vol. I (Peking, 1965), pp. 63-72.
14. James Boggs, The American Revolution, p. 28
15. Ernie Allen and Kenn M. Freeman, "Notes On James Boggs American Revolution," SOULBOOK 3, Fall 1965, p. 223
16. Ibid, p. 225

17. Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, "The Transition," Monthly Review, November, 1964, pp. 422-43.
18. Grace and James Foggs, p. 43
19. An excellent commentary on principles of leadership is to be found in Mao Tse-Tung's, "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership," Selected Works, Vol. 1 (Peking, 1965), pp. 117-22.
20. San Francisco Chronicle, 5/24/66, p. 6
21. John Benson, "Interview With New SNCC Chairman," The Militant, 5/23/66, p. 8.

*there you will still find workers who are stupefied by the priests and by the dreariness of rural life; otherwise you risk becoming mere babblers". 7.

read

CHINA

by Mamadou GOLOGO

Editor of L'Essor, Organ of Union
Sudanese Party, Republic of Mali

**A GREAT PEOPLE
A GREAT DESTINY**

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published by New World Press, Peking

carol freeman |

THINGS THAT GO BUMP IN THE NIGHT

As far back in her life as she wanted to remember, she had been afraid of something. Respectable things that all children are afraid of, the dark, large dogs, dizzying high places... and when mother and daddy died in a car accident, she was afraid of cars. Then she became afraid of living with Gramma Foley in Arkansas. She was afraid of the truckfull of Black people carrying sharp shiny hoes to chop Gramma Foley's cotton. "They're devils!", Gramma Foley would say in her thin crisp voice. "Lazy good for nothings you have to watch all the time, else they leave the weeds and chop down the cotton."

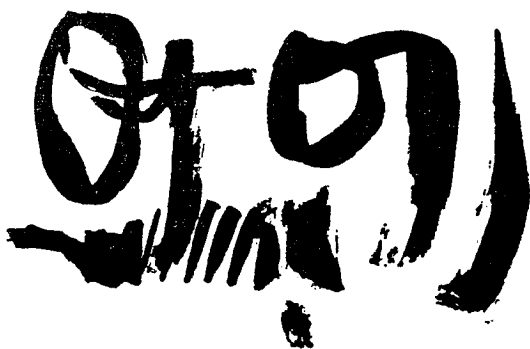
And when she was older, and going to school in starched white pinafores and red buster brown shoes, Gramma Foley said, "Don't let me catch you playing with those black savages, Missy! They ain't like us. God put a curse on 'em. They ain't more than trained apes, and all the boys thinking of is ravishing white ladies!"

And Missy (whose real name was Margaret Ellen Foley) remembered and never played tag, or may hide, or little sally walker, or hop scotch with the shy doe-eyed black girls, whose parents share-cropped for Gramma Foley. The fact was that Missy hated and envied them--those skinny tattered waifs that went to school 3 months out of the year and sharecropped 9. When she was older, Gramma Foley let her keep the wage book for the piece

workers; those were the negras that worked by the day for Foley and Missy felt very important with her money sack in book, sitting at a table under the high hickory nut tree in the calling of the names of the shuffling, dusty, silent negras. "Tobe Boscum, let's see. Tobe youall picked 300 lbs of cotton today, Thats \$7.50 for you." And she would put the crisp \$7 bill and two one- and a new 50¢ piece on the edge of the table for the ashy black hand to ease away. "Thankymm", he would mumble, and tip his battered hat, and shuffle off. She rarely looked the negras in the eye when paying them off, but preferred to watch the grey black claws they sneaked up to pocket the wage money. She never made jokes or chided them as some white ladies would --for you never could tell when they would get out of their place. When she was 18 she was allowed a steady beau, and chubby Cap Breedlove was it. He would race his green Ford convertible down the dusty road and park in front of her house, taking one last sip of white lightning before he came in. Cap was eligible, White, and Single --making him a "catch. He was also the son of Hank Breedlove who owned the drug store and soda fountain in town, and who had the distinction of having on his watch chain a thin, soft, little bone that he claimed his grampa got off a bad nigra that was lynched 20 years ago: he called it His pecker and he cleaned his teeth with it.

Cap was soft and fat with a flushed face and a charming smile; and when Gramma Foley wasn't looking, he tried to feel her breast. After a year of courting they got married in the Baptist Church and Gramma Foley died, and Missy learned what it was to be Frigid. Frigid meant a tightening of nerves and a shuddering that went all through you when Cap lowered his fat body into bed demanding his "duty." Sometimes after the shuddering, Cap would curse her, or drink half a bottle of Lightning, or slap her. But all men were dogs, and she expected it, because Gramma Foley had warned her before she died.

She became a Matron and went to teas and charity dinners, and paid off the negras, and complained about the heat, and the negras, and the price of cotton, and the negras. She met other white matrons and they would go calling one each other, and stare vacant eyed at the passing world, not quite sure that they were being left behind. Cap took to staying out all night when she would not have him in her bed, and she began to wonder if she was losing



his love. After a while she did not notice the whine in her voice, because she had lived with it too long. The crowfeet came, the strands of gray hair, and she wept a little for the passing of her youth, and wondered where the time went. She went on paying off the negras that worked for wages, but now

her eyes strayed a bit, and she would let them linger on a particularly fine young buck in the manner of a woman shopping for a choice cut of beef roast. Then came the time when she held back one Black boys wages 'till last, and held the crisp green money in her limp hand so that the grey black claw had to touch hers lightly to get its money. That night she dreamed about the negra, and the dream was a bit erotic, and she was ashamed and complained to Cap the next morning about the brash negra getting out of his place and how she would not give wages any more if that young buck would be there. So Cap took his morning drink of Lightning and went into town and told all the fine white men about the negra trying to touch his wife, Missy. And they came back with a gallon of kerosene, shot guns, and plenty of rope. Missy was afraid, and excited, and pleasantly surprised. Cap loved her after all. Going through all this trouble for her. And they caught the negra while he was picking cotton and beat him till sundown, cut off his tongue and let him go with a warning: and the negra ran off across and down the road and into the swamp, and was bitten by a rattle snake and died. The sheriff found him three days later covered with flies, and swollen dead, and said it was a good thing the snake bit him and killed him, because otherwise Cap would have had to stand trial for lynching a nigra. But the sheriff laughed and took a drink with Cap to show he was only kidding. And Missy went to bed with Cap and found out that she had only to think about the big Black nigra boy, writhing and screaming when Cap and the other white men cut out his tongue, and she was not frigid any more.

anita cornwell

THE BITTER HARVEST



Paratroops, exile Cuban pilots, and white mercenaries from South Africa are dispatched to the Congo; paratroops, marines and soldiers are rushed to the Caribbean while paratroops, the army, the navy, the marines, the coast guard, the seabees (and perhaps before it all ends, the boy scouts and the girl reserves) crowd into South Vietnam in a vain effort to keep those areas safe for white supremacy.

However, it seems that no one will ever be able to stampede "lightbulb" Johnson into making "democratic" America even moderately safe for the segregated Negro.

In a flimsy attempt to justify the flagrant violation of another nation's sovereignty, Lyndon Johnson said of the American invasion of the Dominican Republic late last April, "Wherever U.S. citizens go, the American flag follows and protects them."

And that, of course, is a patented lie. The American Flag follows and protects U.S. citizens wherever they go, unless they are black and in the U.S.A. convinced that the elegant speech plus the token gesture will somehow manage to keep the American black in his place, LBJ continues to blunder his way toward oblivion by adhering to a foreign policy designed by a set of advisers who seemingly cannot get it through their thick, racist skulls that what England and other continental European countries did to the nonwhite world in previous centuries can never again be successfully done by any white nation.

Due to the incredible stupidity, the unbelievable cruelty and the inordinate greed of the white man in his dealings with those whom he considered beneath his level, he is now thoroughly detested

throughout the so-called
"un-developed" world.

And mainland China
which the United States
fears and despises even
more, in many respects
than it does the Negro,
matches America's
attitude snarl for snarl
on every front. And
if the animosity of
these two scowling
monsters doesn't one
day erupt into all-out
war, then it surely
must be counted a
miracle. For America,
and Russia, are so
busy trying to keep
China in her place
that those two rivals may
never even get around
to a real confrontation
themselves.

The American
Friends Service
Committee, in urging
the United States to
recognize Mainland
China and support its
admission to the
United Nations, re-
marked this past
spring that, "During
the 100 years prior to
1949, human misery
and mass starvation
were unfortunately



common in China. The Communist government of the People's Republic has succeeded in altering these conditions, and more Chinese now are living under decent conditions than during the previous century. . . ."

And that is indeed a noble sentiment, but what the Friends have not taken into consideration is that the United States cares not one bag of beans about the Chinese and their lack of suffering. As a matter of fact, America wants the Chinese to live in misery, for then they would be easier prey for the U.S.A. whose foreign policy toward weaker and/or smaller nations is identical with its domestic policy toward the unprotected, outnumbered American Negro: bribe, buy and brutalize. And if that method fails, there is always the final solution, the rope, the bullet and the bomb.

Of course, in his twisted way of seeing the Other, the American white has always believed that no matter how inhumane he treats the nonwhite, these people who are made to endure, will endure, and, oh miracle of miracles, will also love their tormentors until the end of time. That is why the first large scale civil rights' demonstrations in this country caused such astonishment and outrage.

"Why I can't believe our Negroes would do such a thing. The southern crackers cried along with the northern bigots. Then they all latched onto the same refrain, "Those people are being stirred up by outside agitators!"

And throughout the world, whenever any nation makes a bid to free itself from America's vicious yoke, our cliché-ridden administration in Washington, now stuck in its tragic rut, declares, "Communist-led agitators attacked the U.S. Embassy in Panama today." or Cairo or Jakarta or Caracas or Montevideo, and on and on as the furious rejection travels around the globe.

One would think that any reasonably intelligent government would perceive that this is precisely what the Communists want, to be identified with the "havenots" in their search for freedom and dignity. But by now America is too frightened and too sunk in its web of self-delusion to see anything but a reflection of its own hate and fear.

It has been aptly stated that the white man's problem in Africa was, "Too little, too late." And, needless to say, that is the white

man's problem period! When Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat in a Montgomery bus ten years ago and set off the bus boycott, Negroes in that city merely asked for one concession, to be allowed to retain a seat once one was seated. They did not seek, as was their legal right, to sit wherever they chose. They were willing to fill up from the rear.



But those "good" southern Christian democratic Americans said no. Any Black person, male or female could not sit while any white person, male or female was standing. And that no cost them dearly as will all the other no's they have flaunted in the face of the downtrodden since this country was first settled by dispossessing the hapless Indian.

By now, of course, America is so steeped in myths, legends and out-right bald-faced lies which pervade all levels of public and private consciousness, that it no longer recognizes the real from the fantastic or the tragic from the merely ridiculous. For only a nation bereft of all sense of reality and common decency would systematically destroy another country in the name of peace and democracy when there's not one shred of democracy and very little peace in its own back yard. And how could anyone but a madman bomb another nation with one hand and drop "rehabilitation leaflet" with the other hand?

To be sure, America's "We want peace" myth deceives no one but America herself. What this nation actually means is, "We want peace if you do as we say." And naturally no country in its right mind is going to follow power-mad, race-baiting America anywhere voluntarily. But having raped and robbed, lynched and lied to the Negro for so long, the United States sees no reason why it cannot do this to other Colored Peoples. However, these other colored peoples have guns and tanks of their own and perhaps even an atom bomb or two and they do not intend to play Uncle Tom to America's mass jim.

And the sooner the U. S. realizes this, the sooner will she cease her suicidal madness which is slowly but surely edging the world toward nuclear war.

STATEMENT ON THE WHITE MAN'S DRAFT BY ERNIE ALLEN,
CO-EDITOR OF SOULBOOK (given on April, 1966)

Today, April 14, 1966 I was ordered to appear for induction into the Armed Forces of the United States. I did not appear as ordered and have no intentions of doing so. By appearing I feel that I would have betrayed not only my people but in addition, all other peoples in the world who are also struggling under the yoke of white oppression. I would have betrayed my wife, now pregnant with child, who expects me, as a black man, to live in the tradition which Afroamericans have always followed in struggling against white oppression. And finally, by appearing for induction in White America's Armed Forces I would have betrayed myself as a soldier in the battle for Black Liberation.



While the growth of Black Nationalism, the drive of the basic masses for self-realization and identity is objectively revolutionary and anti-imperialist, this by no means implies that all its forms and manifestations are revolutionary. The question is not so simple.

IS THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE THE LEADER OF THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT?

harry haywood

Black Nationalism, as that of all oppressed peoples, is of a contradictory nature. There are tendencies within it which forward the struggle for liberation, and there are tendencies which objectively detract from the struggle, which warp and hinder it. This distinction arises from the dual nature of the nationalism of an oppressed people, based upon class conflicts within the national revolutionary movement. For this reason, revolutionaries cannot indiscriminately support all features and manifestations of nationalism, but must emphasize the demands and aspirations of the basic masses. Our criterion must be to what extent specific forms, expressions or tendencies bring the masses into conflict with the dominant white power structure. From this point of view, there are reformist and revolutionary tendencies in both the integrationist movement and the nationalist-oriented movements.

It is our opinion that the "Great Debate" raging in the Black community over integration vs. Separation gives only a superficial and distorted picture of the true issues and problems involved. it reflects mainly the power struggle between two sections of black bourgeoisie.

The direct integrationist or assimilationist group fights for ideological leadership of the masses, mainly in order to advance its own narrow group of well educated and "acceptable" Negroes, although their integrationist program is entirely unrealistic for the vast majority

while the ghetto nationalist sector, economically based on the northern urban Black community, indulges in fantasies of building up a separate Black "Free Enterprise" economy as the solution. Neither section of the Black bourgeoisie is capable of leading the type of struggle necessary to win Black freedom. The basic masses must therefore forge their own instrument and fight for a program of liberation that will not subordinate their interests to those of either sector of the black bourgeoisie.

The main overriding task confronting the Black people is the mobilization of their entire resources to take full advantage of the present crisis within the ranks of the enemy.

Harold Cruse in his article, "Revolutionary Nationalism and the Afro-American," 1 which has exerted considerable influence in left circles, involves himself in the toils of the ghetto nationalists, elaborates a theory for them, and then calls upon white progressives to fall in behind this "revolutionary" leadership. Instead of fighting

for a revolutionary program based upon the needs of the masses of working people he seems to be distracted by the din and clamor of the integration versus Separation debate and disparages the self-defense movement in the Deep South. He sees only two trends; the integrationist trend as represented by the assimilationist sector of the Black bourgeoisie, and the separatist trend represented by its nationalist sector. He then proceeds to narrow down the issue to the clash between them. The masses, he contends, have no choice but to follow one or the other sector of this bourgeoisie:

"... Negroes must either follow the road of integration or the road of separatism. There is no middle ground. The masses must choose between these two paths or perish."

Cruse thus neatly writes off the possibility for the basic masses to fight independently and forge their own revolutionary movement. Evidently dazzled by the "militant" talk of the nationalist leaders, he latches onto the ghetto nationalist current, seeing in it the wave of the future. Equating the narrow class aims of this stratum to those of the masses, he imputes a revolutionary potential to its petty strivings for a larger share in the ghetto market in the northern urban centers.

He professes to see in this conflict a "challenge" to white ruling class domination of the Negro urban communities, "which are owned lock, stock and barrel by white absentee proprietors" and are "the crucial areas in which the economic exploitation of the Negro is focused."

"...in this area," he contends, "that the most crucial American class struggle lies... It is only the national left wing which vocally objects to this exploitation." (our emphasis "FF")

Cruse berates the Communist Party for its failure to see the class divisions among the Black people, for pursuing the "myth of a uniform Negro people," and attempting to beguile us into believing that any Negro was simply one of the 'Negro' people whether a cotton picker, a show girl, a steel worker, a political appointee of the power in power, or the editor of Ebony Magazine."

This blurring over class lines in the Black community, he contends, has led the Communist Party into "adopting a position essentially no different from that supported by the NAACP." Ironically, Cruse while seeking to dissassociate himself from the old Left, falls into the same type of mistake which, if pursued, would lead to the same bankruptcy

and blind alley in which the CPUSA now finds itself. Cruse differentiates between the assimilationist and nationalist sectors of the Black bourgeoisie, but at this point his class analysis falls down. He fails to mention the objective conflict of interest and aspirations between the basic, most exploited and oppressed Black masses, north and south, and the aspirations of the ghetto nationalists sector of the Black bourgeoisie. While the CPUSA glosses over clear lines in the Black community and ends up tailing the bourgeois assimilationists, Cruse glosses over the objective conflict of interest among the class components of Black nationalist movements and ends up trailing the ghetto nationalists. While the CPUSA rejects all nationalism as

an "obstacle in the path to Negro freedom." 3 Cruse apparently considers all Black Nationalism, even its most escapist, utopian manifestations, as revolutionary, and is prepared to follow their leadership. Clearly, both positions subordinate the interests of the basic masses to one or the other sectors of the Black bourgeoisie. Both tend to hinder the development of a revolutionary Black nationalist trend



which is already beginning to manifest itself in practice in the movement for self-defense in the Deep South, and among Black workers and radical intelligentsia throughout the country.

The key to Cruse's thinking on the question of liberation of oppressed peoples is his assumption that nationalist movements are primarily a bourgeois effort, in which the struggle of the bourgeoisie for control of the national market is the pivotal revolutionary factor. Hence, his reliance on the bourgeoisie as the natural leader of those. This over-

simplified formula runs throughout his article and is a complete variance with contemporary theory, practice, and experience in national liberation movements. It is an outdated concept. And it is particularly unrealistic when it is applied to the Negro question and the attempt is made to impute to the conflict over the ghetto market the importance of a major contradiction between the nationalist bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism. The petty strivings of this weak, non-industrial, marginal bourgeoisie, largely removed from the Deep South areas of Black population concentration, and operating in the major cities of the North is presented as a "challenge" to white ruling dominance, and as the "real economics of the American race question." He attempts to identify the ghetto petty-bourgeois stratum with the colonial bourgeoisie whose fight is for a national market. He fails to understand that even in the advanced semi-colonial countries today, the market factor is no longer the major element in the national revolutionary movement. He fails to take into account the change in the social essence of the national question since the onset of the general crisis of the imperialist system following World War 1.

"...The essence of the national question lies at present in the struggle of the masses of the people in the colonies and of the dependent and of the dependent nationalities against financial exploitation against financial enslavement, and the cultural effacement of these colonies and these nationalities by the imperialist bourgeoisie of the ruling nationality. What significance can the competitive struggle between the bourgeoisies of the various nationalities have when the national question is presented in this manner? Certainly, not a decisive significance, and in certain cases not even important significance. It is perfectly obvious that we are concerned mainly, not with the fact that the bourgeoisie of one nationality is beating or can best the bourgeoisie of another nationality in the competitive struggle, but with the fact that the imperialist group of the ruling nationality exploits and oppresses the main masses, and above all, the peasant masses of the colonial and dependent nationalities, and exploiting them, it thereby draws them into struggle against imperialism" 4

RIGHTS

1. Studies on the Left, II, 2 and III, 1, 1961
2. Ibid.,
3. Clude Lightfoot, Political Affairs, July, 1961
4. J. Stalin, Leninism, Leninism, I, 247-6



GLOBAL VIEWS

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HAITI:

paul lantimo

A BLACK REVOLUTION WILL REPEAT ITSELF

translated from the spanish by SOULBOOK

The Dominican Republic, a nation in which 80% of the people are of African descent, has been for over one year the victim of whitey's intervention to stop the people from solving their problems of brutal poverty and anti-black oppression. The intervention which L. Beast Johnson and his brothers were in large part responsible with infesting and perpetrating on the island. On the western part of the island(which is named Santo Domingo) the people of the Republic of Haiti, whose collective soul and collective resistance to white oppression is still exhibited in the religion of our African ancestors, have yet to enjoy the fruits of their successful Black(and also the first non-white) revolt against Europe or its descendants. So, judging from recent prelatious U.S. State department "leaks" that the U.S. has stationed troops

off the shores of Haiti to prepare to "evacuate" Americans citizens in case of a bloody revolt against the Duvalier regime. They are again preparing an attempt to put out that single Haitian spark that started a universal Black prairie fire.

But our Haitian Brothers are preparing for this oppression and some of the things they are doing are exclusively told by Paul Lantimo, a representative of the Haitian Liberation Movement. Run it down, Bro. Paul!

Brother Delegates of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America: In the name of the oppressed people of Haiti, the delegation from the United Democratic Front of National Liberation warmly salutes the peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America that are struggling against international imperialism for the sake of economic and political independence, social progress and peace. The Front transmits its message of vivid encouragement to the people of Congo(L), Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, the peoples of Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Guatemala and Laos, who struggle heroically against imperialism and the retrograde governments of their respective countries. The Haitian delegation sends a special greeting to the Dominican people and assures them of the complete solidarity of the Haitian people in their struggle against the Yankee troops. Finally, admiration is expressed for the valiant people of Vietnam who at this moment deal serious blows to imperialism and its lackeys. By landing numerous troops in Vietnam and intimidating the people American imperialism thought that the situation would be placed in their favor. Mr. Johnson and the pentagon militarists were grossly mistaken. In Vietnam it is the people that have the initiative -- Northamerican imperialism will be crushed sooner or later. Today, confronted with the willful intensification of imperialist aggression the delegates of the progressive and revolutionary movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America are reunited so that conditions for decisive response from all the peoples may be planned. Oh, how the imperialists tremble!

Brother Delegates: the people of our country have already lived in memory of revolutionary feats. In 1791, under the leadership of Toussaint Louverture and Jean Jacques Dessalines, and utilizing inter-

* This is the translation (by SOULBOOK) from the Spanish text of a speech given in French at the recent Afro-Asian-Latin American Conference.

colonialists rivalries, the French slave yoke was broken, the war of independence was victoriously sustained, and the napoleonic armies were thrown out of the country. This was in 1804.

But in the conditions of that epoch in which growing international capitalism leaned upon the colonial slavery in Africa and America (and thus determined the future of humanity), it was extremely difficult for a small country to develop an independent economy. The capitalist countries imposed upon us a sort of economic blockade,

and refused us credit and technical equipment so vital to us after a dozen years of devastating war. Leaning upon the military chiefs and the enormous import-export commerce in foreign hands, they succeeded in making our country into a semicolony, thus condemning the Haitian masses to misery.

This situation became worse in the first part of the century. Yankee imperialism, taking advantage of the rivalries between the European powers following the first world wars, sent their marines to our



Henry Christophe
King of Haiti 

territory and occupied our country for 15 years(1915 - 1930). The American imperialists utilized their presence in our country to outstrip their English, German, and above all, French rivals. They directly controlled our banks and our finances. They established a custom house management that bequeath the foreign trade to their monopolies they installed a judicial system according to their fancy, and an administration and military that permitted them to control the economic and political life of our country, which continued after their departure. They imposed on us the purchase of their oil and their coffee prices; they expropriated our peasants in the Northeast, in the Artibonite Valley, and the West for the installation and working of their sugar and sisal refineries, and for the extraction of copper and bauxite, which instead of being processed in the country, is exported to the U.S.. By robbing us of our mineral riches and ferociously exploiting the labor of our people, imposing their trade and their prices, Northamerican domination succeeded in aggravating and accelerating the internal crisis of the regime.

Northamerican imperialism ended its occupation of Haiti in 1930. But it has left behind itself its slaughterhouses and a system conforming to its interests. The government of Duvalier is its present representative and faithful servant.

Put into power by the Haitian army with the benediction of the State Department, Duvalier has not ceased to maintain for it an internal and external reactionary policy. He has supported and maintained: a free rein for the investments of imperialist capital; sabotage of the national effort in economy, fiscal policy that crushes agricultural producers, starving the mass of workers and middle classes; intolerance and persecution of syndical and democratic organizations leaving the oppressed classes to the mercy of their masters, the feudal lords and the state; total support for U.S. foreign policy; notorious support to the imperialist intervention of the Congo, the Northamerican intervention in the Dominican Republic, and to the policy of U.S. hostility against Cuba.

But Northamerican imperialism and its flunky Duvaliers cannot maintain domination of our people much longer. Already there have been outward signs of a crisis. The phenomenon of the insolvency of state has reappeared in dramatic manner: entire ranks of public employees and employers do not receive their semi-monthly, and monthly salaries and/or they collect it with great delay -- this situation places them in the hands of usurers. Certain enterprises of production controlled by the

state(essential oil factories nationalized in 1959, central confectioner of Cayes) are in constant deficit. The morality and state credit is bankrupt; the national, secondary and university teaching have lost their prestige because of the meddling of the "tonton-macoutes" (armed civil agents, members of Duvaliers repressive police) among professors; who in part are provoked into departing for Canada or Africa(on the other hand harm done to the low-income citizens provokes and increases the prestige of private schools). In the custom houses and post offices pillages

of foreign packages have been organized with the immense anger of citizens and especially businessmen. justice has entirely disappeared.

All conflicts are settled under the pressure of a "tonton macoute", who heap abuses on all classes. The political prisoners without trial are executed or else they rot in prison, completely cut off from the outside. An unimaginable terror is thrown down over the cities and countryside. The families of Benoit Riobe a P-au-P, Sansarick a Jeremie and many others were assassinated in broad daylight because of police denunciation and without any other



Charlemagne Peralta's Martyrdom- is portrayed by the Haitian painter Obin who knew the guerrilla leader. Peralta was killed by U.S. Marines.

foundation. On the border (Dominican-Haitian) areas hundreds and hundreds of peasants were machine-gunned and thrown to the pit and graves simply for having sold or supplied the Haitian rebels with food who fought in the mountains at that time. In short all levels of political and military authority are controlled by sinister persons, who owe no allegiance to any class, and who are ready to complete, if it is ordered of them, all the sorrowful tasks, and in case of necessity commit the most dishonest and cruel acts. The Haitian crisis thus became more visible, clear for all the world to see. But this was worse, because now a principal, decisive sphere of action has to be passed, the power sphere of the reactionary classes. The state is discovered to be incapable of satisfying the appropriate elementary obligations to the classes that sustain it. Their debts are inflated indefinitely to the detriment of the bank, or some big businessmen, and certain imperialist companies. And now it (the state) is faced with the necessity of utilizing extraordinary methods of taxation that are simply exigences of investment of this or that sum of money or opportunity. Thus, more and more the machinery of the state functions in the interest of one reactionary group against another. From that results an aggravation of the contradictions inside the exploited classes. It becomes vital for each group to directly take over the state machinery for themselves. In the long electoral campaign that was ferociously fought between the different traditional political sectors, the winning Duvalierist gangs used the state machinery not only against the people -- which was to be expected -- but also against the other gangs of reaction. Public liberties do not even exist.

In summary : the incredible misery of the working masses, the weakness of the regime as a result of the hostility between the different reactionary gangs, the blind and ferocious repression and disappearance of all liberties for the people has created a new situation that permits new forces to advance steadily in the country.

The Duvalier Government did not fall from the sky. It is the expression of the crisis of the regime and of world imperialism. Because the reactionary classes have been and always will be impotent in solving crisis, only the revolutionary action of the people will be sufficient to change the situation.

Up to now the Haitian masses have developed combat under different forms. The workers, students, and professionals have sustained important syndical and political battles despite the repression. During 1961 students organized a powerful strike which took an immediate



political character and endangered the power of Duvalier. The peasants have often undertaken violent manifestations in order to defend themselves against the expropriation or the abuses of the "ton-ton macoutes." Likewise on three or four occasions groups of patriots took the initiative of armed action that failed because of the authors' political inexperience and their isolation from the people.

The new opposition constantly organizes itself on a superior level: it supports portions of the vanguard, it does not yet entrust to itself the Role of Liberators, it works together on the basis of a program or

any way on the basis of ideas; it turns its back on the past and looks toward the future, condemning the imperialists, the big businessmen and the feudal lords; it desires to lean upon the masses, to conscientiously support and guide them in assault: for these reasons this front has been established -- the United Democratic Front of National Liberation.

It is a front which agrees to solve the present revolutionary situation. Our work is to unify the action of all Haitian revolutionaries and put an end to the division within our ranks in order to lead the masses in armed struggle against Duvalierism. We are convinced of the future demolition of the Duvalierists (by the popular forces), the bulwark of imperialist domination in Haiti. The popular forces will lead radical changes in the structure of the regime and will strike a strong blow against

imperialism.

The demolition of Duvalierism and the regime which sustains it will constitute our particular contribution to the struggle of the peoples of Santo Domingo and of Vietnam, to struggles of the peoples of the world against international imperialism, against Northamerican imperialism.

Brother Delegates: when the Northamerican imperialists occupied our country the Haitian people heroically resisted Yankee aggression. Our valiant peasants under the leadership of Charlemagne Peralta and Benoit Batraville entrenched themselves in the mountains and molested the U.S. Military. But due to lack of a revolutionary vanguard and isolation from other countries they were eventually annihilated, and their leader Charlemagne Peralta was captured then shot after being appended to a wooden cross. Since then the times have changed. On Dominican soil and in Haiti determined and shining vanguards work in order to unite both peoples against their principal enemy -- U.S. imperialism. Besides, the socialist countries and revolutionary movements of other countries are determined to aid our two peoples. Imperialism cannot take action on their whim. Recently, U.S. imperialism disembarked troops in Santo Domingo, but it is incapable of imposing its peace; it is incapable of dominating the popular resistance. The Dominican people will conquer U.S. imperialism.

The Northamerican imperialists have cynically affirmed, since the events of Santo Domingo, their will and right to land their troops where they please.

But the Haitian and Dominican peoples learn their lesson of history. And now on Dominican territory workers and patriots have begun to get along with the people that struggle against Northamerican imperialism.

The Haitian and Dominican peoples under their respective vanguards and leaning upon Brother peoples are obliged to cooperate and they will cooperate in order to make the imperialists pay dearly for the humiliations of yesterday and today. They must wage a long and difficult struggle. But closely united with and aided by Brother peoples, they will fling the Northamerican imperialists into the sea and annihilate, internally, the puppets that support yankee imperialism.

Brother Delegates: the Haitian people must meet above all else the battle against Northamerican imperialism. But we are jointly liable with the struggle of all the peoples against the other imperialists and

we want to extend our hand especially to the West Indian people who struggle against French, British, and Dutch imperialism. Since all the imperialist have an understanding amongst themselves to maintain their colonies in the Carribean, the Carribean people must unify their action against international imperialism headed by the U. S. A. We propose that the Tricontinental Conference should adopt a practical resolution with that perspective. Equally, as they come to their accursed agreement on their passing divergences on less essential questions, they are determined to smother the peoples' struggle for social progress, peace and socialism. It is in response to this that the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America united in common action against international imperialism. Because of that we desire that the Tricontinental Conference make a resolution by which to establish a permanent organization to coordinate the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

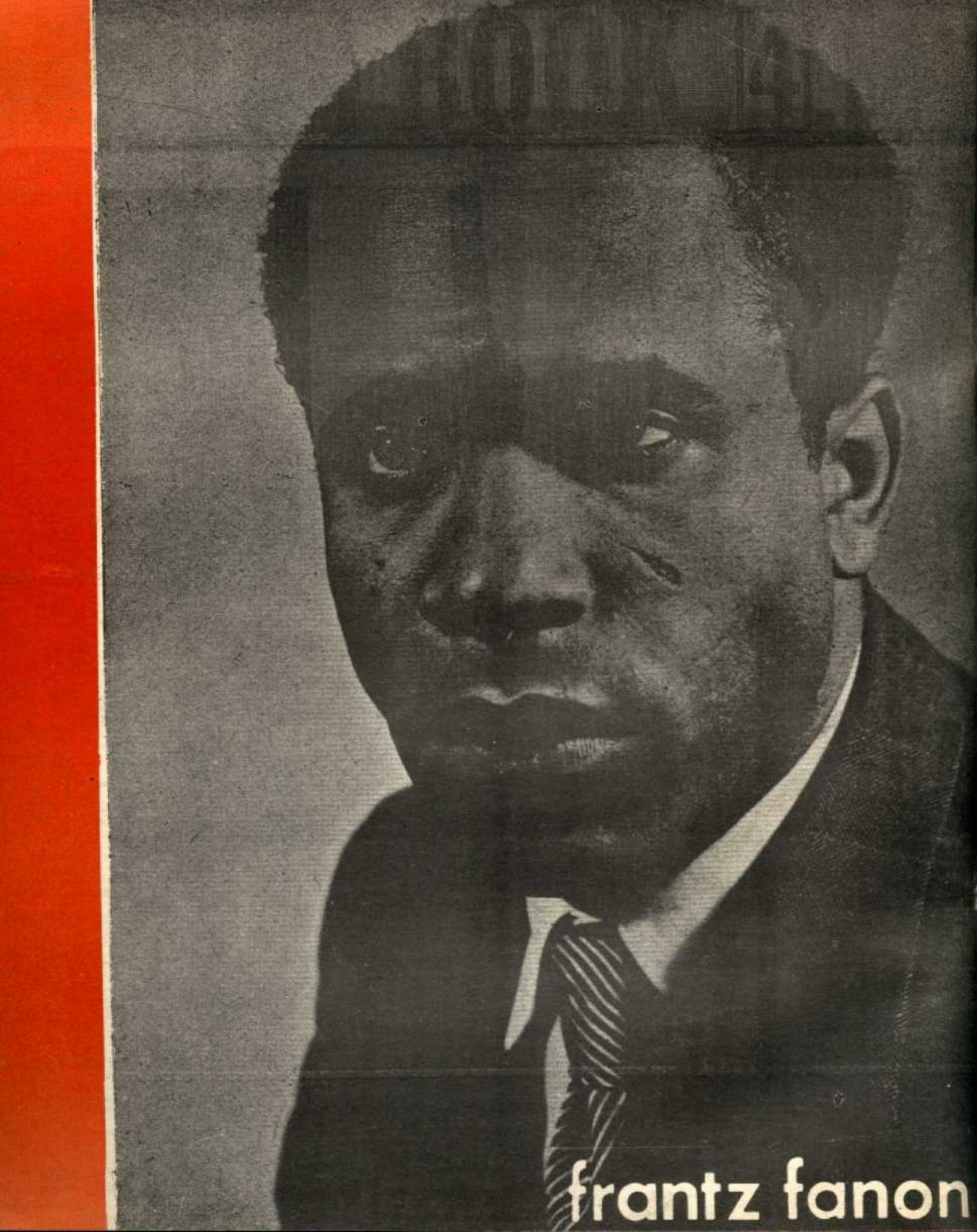
DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALISTS!

LONG LIVE THE WEST INDIAN PEOPLES!

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ASIA, AND LATIN AMERICA!

1. page 50 "...without a revolutionary mood among the masses, and without conditions favoring the growth of this mood, revolutionary tactics would never be converted into action; but we.. have been convinced by long, painful and bloody experience of the truth that revolutionary tactics cannot be built up on revolutionary moods alone...Expressing one's 'revolutionariness' solely by hurling abuse at parliamentary opportunism, solely by hurling abuse a repudiating participation in parliaments, is very easy; but just because it is too easy, it is not the solution for a very difficult, problem." 4.
2. page 51 ii." the election to public office of these militants from the organization should constitute a test of these cadres within the day to day activities of the revolutionary movement; the roles which they play (or fail to play) during their terms of office ~~should~~ serve as guidelines to future roles which they will be allowed to play during the course of the revolutionary struggle; for this reason alone we see the necessity of these militants being responsible to a dedicated revolutionary organization, which in turn must be responsible to the masses of black people whom it serves. "
3. (page 60 top of the page).....
 " a force to take power. We're not a protest movement. We're out to take power legally, but if we're stopped by the government from doing it legally. We're going to take it the way everyone else took it, including the way the Americans took it in the American Revolution." 21.
4. Page 72 (first quote)
 "The Negro workers must either follow the bourgeoisie when it leads on civil rights or swing to the (bourgeois) nationalist wing. It has no other perspective except racial apathy." 2.
5. Page 72 (second quote)
 "It is in this area," he contends, "that the most crucial American class struggle lies.It is only the nationalist wing which vocally objects to this exploitation."





frantz fanon